Refugees' acts of citizenship in the context of integration in Finland

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Tiivistelmä/Referat – Abstract

This study analyses the refugees' activity during the integration period in Finland within the framework of acts of citizenship proposed by the British theorist Engin Isin. The purpose is to investigate what acts of citizenship refugees perform to constitute themselves as citizens and what factors prevent them from pursuing acts of citizenship as well as to examine the influence of moving to the Capital region on constituting refugees as citizens. The method of qualitative interview is used for this study. Thirteen interviews, including two paired ones, were conducted between June and October 2019. The interviewees were selected among the clients of the Immigrant Services of the city of Espoo on the criterion of moving to this city after living in another municipality outside the Capital Region of Finland. The results show that during their integration process, refugees are focused on performing the following acts that enable them to constitute themselves as citizens: Finnish language learning, job search, political activity and establishment of social relations. The analysis also shows that the lack of integration conditions outside the Finnish Capital Region and difficulties in obtaining available social services prevent refugees from constituting themselves as citizens during their integration. This research points to the differences in integration conditions in different regions of Finland and brings to the conclusion that although there are organizations providing guidance on access to the Finnish social security system, the understanding of Finnish bureaucracy among the refugee population remains a big challenge. The study also demonstrates that refugees are not passive, but rather put an effort to improve their situation, take the initiative, and thus change the common perception of a refugee.

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acts of citizenship, refugees, integration, the Finnish Capital Region, the Immigrant Services, thematic analysis

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1. Introduction

There is a common public understanding of migration in binary terms of citizenship and non-citizenship. This discourse promotes the image of refugees as passive recipients of welfare and other public services provided by the state and therefore refuses to realize the refugees' potential of being active members of society. The dichotomy of citizen and non-citizen tends to set the social and political rules in the present-day world; however, this concept appears to limit the variety of the actual social relationships and social roles that refugees are involved in.

In Finland, refugee-related topics become particularly prominent and widely discussed in social and political life after the year 2015 when the country as elsewhere in Europe experienced what become termed in media "the European migration crisis", or "the refugee crisis" (Tilli, 2019). Finland actively started taking legal measures to regulate the flow of asylum seekers and create conditions for the integration of those who received a residence permit. Even though the number of applicants for asylum has significantly decreased in the following years (The Finnish Immigration Service, 2020c), the aftermath of the so-called "crisis" is still relevant. Many of those who arrived at that time and later received a positive asylum decision currently take part in measures supporting their integration that are organized by municipalities and the Employment and Economic Development Offices (the TE Offices).

Asylum seekers become refugees if they are granted asylum and residence permit (The Ministry of the Interior, 2020). New beneficiaries of residence permits started to move out from reception centers to municipalities across the country. The particular effort in the integration of refugees was taken by the Capital Region municipalities as it was the most popular destination for the newcomers since the 1990s (Ahlgren-Leinvuo, 2005; Statistics Finland, 2020b). Being an employee of a municipal social institution that handles the immigrant's integration in Espoo, I witnessed how the organization had to double its staff when the number of clients increased dramatically. There was also a

significant growth in the number of clients who have moved from other municipalities interrupting their integration process there. According to my experience, this group of people required a lot of guidance on the integration services despite the fact that they had already passed the initial stages of integration in the first municipality of residence.

I was utterly interested in refugees' motives for relocation inside Finland and had an idea of studying their efforts of improving their living conditions and becoming active members of society from their own point of view. I suggested placing these efforts within the analytical framework of acts of citizenship proposed by the British theorist Engin Isin (2008; 2009). The theory of acts of citizenship allows one to focus on the acts of subjects, through which they constitute themselves as citizens regardless of their legal status (Isin and Nielsen, 2008). I also decided to investigate the factors preventing refugees from working towards integration into Finnish society and the role of moving to the Capital Region in this process.

The research is focused on the refugees' perspectives on their acts of citizenship during the integration period and seeks answers to the following questions:

- What acts performed by refugees during their integration process enable them to constitute themselves as citizens?
- What prevents refugees from constituting themselves as citizens during their integration?
- How moving to the Capital Region influence the process of constituting refugees as citizens?

This thesis is based on qualitative research conducted by the method of qualitative interviewing (N=13). Its importance for sociology constitutes from highlighting the issues of refugees' integration into the Finnish society and their geographical concentration in the Capital Region of Finland. It also demonstrates the intersection of two sociological domains, such as integration and citizenship.

This work consists of an introduction, five chapters, conclusions, a list of references, and appendices. In the second chapter, I present the definition of a refugee and related legislation, provide an overview of immigration statistics to Finland and across Finland, and describe the formal integration process for migrants in Finland. The third chapter is devoted to the theoretical framework and previous research that I utilized for analysis of the interview data. The fourth chapter introduces the methodology I used in this study. It describes the data collection method, selection and recruitment of research participants, data collection process, data analysis method, and the ethical issues. The fifth and sixth chapters present the results and their analysis. In the concluding chapter, I summarize the findings, discuss the limitations and contributions of this study and provide suggestions for further studies.

2. Research Context: Immigrants and their integration in Finland

In this chapter, I explain the concept of refugee, which is one of the central concepts of this study, and briefly introduce the Finnish legislation related to refugees. Then I provide an overview of the major immigration waves in Finnish history and Finnish immigration statistics as well as describe patterns of internal migration of people with foreign background in the country. Finally, I present the elements of official measures supporting immigrants' integration in Finland.

2.1 What does a refugee mean?

There is a common misunderstanding regarding the concepts of a refugee and an immigrant. Even though a refugee is an immigrant, these concepts are not interchangeable, and there are significant legal differences between them (UNHCR,

2016). Also, not all the asylum seekers who receive a residence permit are refugees (Jauhiainen, 2017a, p. 9).

The main international instrument of the modern refugee protection system is the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, also known as the 1951 Refugee Convention, which was approved at the special United Nations conference on 28 July 1951. It describes the basic rights that participating countries should grant refugees and defines who is a refugee and who is not (in particular, war criminals are excluded from this concept). This Convention was initially limited to protecting mainly European refugees in the aftermath of World War II, but in 1967, as the problem of displacement spread around the world, it was supplemented by the Protocol that expanded its scope. (UNHCR, 2007)

Article 1 of the 1951 Refugee Convention defines a refugee as

> "A person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country; or to return there, for fear of persecution." (UNHCR, 2007)

By April 2015, the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol were ratified by 148 State Parties, who signed at least one of these documents (UNHCR, 2020). Finland ratified both in 1968 (UNHCR, 2020). In accordance with this Convention, other international agreements, and EU legislation, Finland is committed to accept refugees (The Ministry of the Interior, 2020). The term 'refugee' in Finnish legislation refers to a person who meets the criteria listed in the Article 1 of the Refugee Convention (Aliens Act, 301/2004). A person who has been granted a residence permit on the basis of international protection is also regarded as a refugee (The Centre of Expertise in Immigrant Integration, 2020a).

Aliens Act (301/2004) provides the criteria and procedures for granting international protection. According to it, international protection is a refugee status or a subsidiary protection status. Refugee status is granted to a person receiving an asylum in the country. If the preconditions for receiving an asylum are not met, the authorities may still entitle the person to subsidiary protection in Finland. The grounds for receiving subsidiary protection may be a threat of the death penalty, torture, or serious personal danger arising from an armed conflict. (The Ministry of the Interior, 2020)

A person may seek international protection by submitting an application for asylum at the state border or to the police. Adult asylum seekers live in reception centers while their applications are being processed. Unaccompanied minors seeking asylum receive accommodation in group homes or supported housing units during the application process. Asylum seekers can also reside in private accommodation with their relatives or friends. After getting a positive asylum decision, individuals receive a residence permit and move to the municipality, where they become entitled to its services on the grounds of residence. (The Centre of Expertise in Immigrant Integration, 2020b)

In addition to asylum seekers, other categories of immigrants can receive international protection. Quota refugees get a refugee status and a residence permit before arriving in the country (The Finnish Immigration Service, 2020a). They do not live in the reception centers but come directly to some Finnish municipality after this municipality has agreed to take them and offer them an apartment (The Finnish Immigration Service, 2020a). A quota refugee is a person who falls under the following conditions: he or she "had to leave his or her home country or country of permanent residence"; he or she "cannot stay in the country to which he or she has fled"; "the United Nations refugee agency UNHCR has determined him or her to be a refugee" (The Finnish Immigration Service, 2020a). The refugee status and residence permit may also be obtained on the grounds of family ties. In this case, a person applies for family reunification with a family member, who is a

refugee, already residing in Finland (The Centre of Expertise in Immigrant Integration, 2020c).

Individuals who have been granted a residence permit on the basis of temporary protection cannot be regarded as refugees, as the protection provided to them has a short duration. Temporary protection may be given to foreign nationals "who need international protection and who cannot return safely to their home country or country of permanent residence, because there has been a massive displacement of people in the country or its neighboring areas as a result of an armed conflict, some other violent situation or an environmental disaster". (The Finnish Immigration Service, 2020b)

2.2 Immigration to Finland and internal migration to the Capital Region

The history of immigration to Finland is versatile and consists of several milestones. Until the mid-80s, the number of people leaving the country significantly exceeded the number of people entering Finland (Korkiasaari, 1993 in Valtonen, 2001, p. 422). Later, the pattern of migration has changed to the opposite. Attracted by the improving economic situation, around a half of those Finns who have earlier left to Sweden as labor migrants in the 1960s and 1970s returned home in the late 1980s (Valtonen, 2001, p. 422). In addition, the country experienced migration of Ingrian returnees from the former Soviet Union, refugees from Somalia and former Yugoslavia; namely, the immigration growth among these groups peaked in 1991-1993 (Statistics Finland, 2020a).

The 1990s and 2000s were characterized by the fast growth of the number of foreign citizens residing in Finland (Eronen et al., 2014, p. 12). They had different grounds for a Finnish residence permit, and they came from different countries for different periods of time. In other words, the nature of immigration was heterogeneous, and it can be explained not only by the economic or political situation in the countries of departure but also by the legislative changes in Finland. For example, the European Union's policies on free movement contributed to the rise of the number of immigrants from European

countries (Statistics Finland, 2020a). It became possible for them to move to Finland to search for a job and provide grounds for immigration of their families. Also, starting from 2001, Finland took on an obligation to accept 750 quota refugees per year. Later, in 2014 and 2015, the number of refugee quota was exceptionally increased to 1050 due to the difficult situation in Syria (The Finnish Immigration Service, 2020a).

The remarkable event in modern Finnish immigration history is "the refugee crisis", emerging in autumn of 2015 and leading to major changes both in the country's demographic situation and the Finnish asylum policy. At that time, 32,477 asylum seekers arrived in the country – more than ever before in Finnish immigration history (The Finnish Immigration Service, 2020c). The background of newcomers was diverse, but the major nationality was Iraqi, the major gender – male and the major age group – people between 18 and 34 years old. Also, following the agreement between the EU states, Finland accepted about 2,000 asylum seekers transferred internally from Italy and Greece in 2015–2017 (Lyytinen, 2019, p. 19; The Finnish Immigration Service, 2017). The influx of asylum seekers in 2015 led to a peak number of asylum decisions in the following year. In 2016, 27,5 percent (7745) asylum decisions made by the Finnish Immigration Service were positive (The Finnish Immigration Service, 2020c). The majority of asylum seekers who arrived in 2015 and received a negative asylum decision from the Finnish Immigration Service appealed to the administrative court (Jauhiainen, 2017a, p. 7). There was also a growing number of undocumented immigrants, namely, those who have received a final negative asylum decision but did not leave the country voluntarily and stayed in Finland without a residence permit (Jauhiainen, 2017b). To cut the number of positive asylum cases after 2015, the Finnish government tightened the opportunities for obtaining asylum, canceled humanitarian protection, and imposed restrictions on family reunification (Jauhiainen, 2017a; The Finnish Refugee Council, 2019, p. 11).

The number of immigrants in Finland varies depending on the assessment criteria, e.g., origin, country of birth, citizenship, language, or a combination of these. At the end of 2019, about 8 percent of the country's population (423,494 people) had a foreign

background; that is, residents whose parents or the only known parent were born abroad. Most of them originated from the former Soviet Union, and the following three most common backgrounds were Estonia, Iraq, and Somali. The number of people born abroad but living in Finland was more than 404,000 (7.3 percent), with the largest groups originating from the former Soviet Union, Estonia, and Sweden. Almost 268,000 foreign citizens (4.8 percent) lived in the country at the end of 2019, with the largest part of them being Estonians. The number of people speaking foreign languages, that is, languages other than Finnish, Swedish, and Sami, was almost 412,700 (7.5 percent), and the most common foreign language was Russian. (Statistics Finland, 2020b)

According to Statistics Finland (2020c), about half of all immigrants live in the Capital Region nowadays. The Capital Region became a popular destination for the internal migration of people with the foreign background already in the 1990s (Ahlgren-Leinvuo, 2005; Statistics Finland, 2020b). The rise of immigration and the assignment of refugees to different municipalities have increased the number of immigrants in other parts of the country (Statistics Finland, 2020b). However, the first municipality of residence after arriving in Finland was not necessarily the final place of residence (Heikkilä, 2012 in Sjöblom-Immala, 2012, p. 6). Patterns of immigrants' internal migration in Finland did not differ from the ones of the native population and followed the trends of the general urbanization process (Heikkilä & Järvinen, 2003; Vilkama & Yousfi, 2010, p. 55). In particular, they tend to move out from small towns and villages (Ahlgren-Leinvuo, 2005, p. 37). Refugees move most actively during the first three years of living in the country (Ahlgren-Leinvuo, 2005, p. 37).

The internal migration of people with foreign background to the Capital Region was substantial in recent years as well. The statistics show that 71 percent of the total net migration in the Capital Region in 2019 involved foreign language speakers (Statistics Finland, 2020d). Among all the Capital Region municipalities, Espoo experienced the most notable growth: the number of its population increased by 6,099 residents or 2.2 percent (Jaatinen & Österholm, 2020). "At the turn of the year 2019/2020, 18 percent

of Espoo residents were foreign speakers, 11.6 percent were foreign citizens, and 18.1 percent were of foreign origin" (Jaatinen & Österholm, 2020, p. 6). The most common foreign languages in Espoo at the turn of the year 2019/2020 were Russian, Estonian, Arabic, English, Chinese, and Somali (Jaatinen & Österholm, 2020, p. 6).

2.3 Integration of immigrants

The integration of asylum seekers starts already at the stage of processing their asylum application, when they begin to learn language and culture on their own or with the assistance of reception center staff and get to know the local society in everyday situations. Depending on the individual and his or her background and motivation, this process can take years. The right to receive the official integration support from the authorities comes into effect after the individuals obtain a residence permit and register as residents in the Population Information System, and get a personal identity code. The supportive measures are usually provided for three years. (The Finnish Institute for Health and Welfare, 2020)

The Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (1386/2010) contains provisions and measures that promote and support immigrants' integration. According to it, the definitions of integration are:

> "interactive development involving immigrants and society at large, the aim of which is to provide immigrants with the knowledge and skills required in society and working life and to provide them with support, so that they can maintain their culture and language";
>
> and
>
> "the multi-sectoral promotion and support of integration […] using the measures and services provided by the authorities and other parties."

In Finland, municipalities and the TE Offices are primarily responsible for the provision of measures supporting immigrants' integration, taking into account the individual's educational background, professional skills and competences, needs, and personal goals (The Centre of Expertise in Immigrant Integration, 2020d; the Finnish Institute for Health and Welfare, 2020). The municipalities' share of responsibility includes the general coordination of developing, planning, and monitoring the integration in their areas (The Centre of Expertise in Immigrant Integration, 2020d). In order to use the services provided in a certain municipality, an individual should register as a resident of this municipality. The TE offices provide information on open vacancies and help in finding a job. The individuals under International Protection who received the residence permit can be appointed from the Reception Center to the municipality and the TE office at the same time (The Centre of Expertise in Immigrant Integration 2020e, p. 26).

The measures supporting immigrants' integration include: providing the basic information about the Finnish society; guidance and advice; an initial assessment; an integration plan; an integration training. The initial assessment involves an examination of the immigrants' previous education, work history, and language skills. It allows to evaluate the individuals' preparedness for employment or study as well as the need for language training and other measures and services that promote integration. The integration plan includes aspects that facilitate immigrants' integration in Finland. For example, studying the Finnish of Swedish language may be laid out in the integration plan. Integration training can include Finnish or Swedish training, training of reading and writing skills, and other education that facilitates access to the labor market. (The Centre of Expertise in Immigrant Integration, 2020d)

In addition to municipalities and TE Offices, many local and national organizations in Finland offer a wide range of supporting activities for the immigrants' integration. Their activities include, for example, assistance in housing, organizing homework clubs, and peer support. An important task of these organizations is to engage newly arrived

immigrants in social activities. (The Centre of Expertise in Immigrant Integration 2020e, p. 27)

3. Theoretical framework and previous research: "Acts of citizenship"

In this chapter, I first introduce the concept of citizenship, describing its features determined by different scholars. Further, I discuss the modes of investigating citizenship and focus on one of them - the theoretical framework defined by Isin (2008) and his adherents as "acts of citizenship". I also give the rationale for using it in my research. In the final part, I consider how the concept of "acts of citizenship" is used in previous research when analyzing the activities of people who lack a legal status of a citizen and their relationship with the people who have one.

3.1 Citizenship: introduction to the concept

The concept of citizenship typically implies a presence of a formal status among the individuals in a particular nation-state, the totality of specific rights that they can use, and the totality of the responsibilities assigned to them within a citizenry (Hindess, 2000, p. 1487). The concept of citizenship also indicates belonging to a community of citizens of a certain state and characterizes an individual as a collective subject (Bloemraad, Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2008, p. 154).

Citizenship has traditionally been defined around a particular jurisdiction and territory of one or another state (López-Sala, 2019, p. 100). Thus, it involves a unifying function, as people are united in the country by common citizenship. In some countries, a citizen can possess a dual citizenship (Turner, 2016, p. 682). A person with dual citizenship has the rights of both states, but these rights are often limited, as they can operate only in the country where an individual lives (Turner, 2016, p. 682).

Citizenship has exclusive features both in the global sense and at the level of an individual nation-state too. From the worldwide perspective, citizenship divides the world's population into smaller subgroups that are managed by the countries' governments (Hindess, 2000, p. 1487). Each state provides rights, freedoms, and duties to its citizens, but this package can significantly vary among different countries. Consequently, people have different access to health care, education, adequate nutrition, and life chances, in general, in different parts of the world.

At the level of a single nation-state, citizenship does not automatically imply equal opportunities either. The holders of the legal status of citizenship living in one territory may be subjected to various kinds of infringements. Internally displaced persons, indigenous peoples, residents of occupied territories, and people living in areas under a state of emergency often consider that their civil rights are suspended or ignored (Nyers, 2004, p. 203). Individuals residing in the country without a citizenship status may be deprived of full rights, which in turn can lead to inequality and to a feeling of belonging to second-class people (Birkvad, 2019, p. 802).

Citizenship is theorized as a legal status that makes boundaries within the political community, dividing people into insiders and outsiders in terms of access to rights (Bosniak, 2000; Turner, 2016). However, the growth of international migration over the past decades blurred these boundaries and subsequently encouraged the issue of the relationship between territory and rights becoming critical in citizenship studies (Turner 2016, p. 681). The reason for this is that the presence of people who do not have a formal status of a citizen in the territory of a certain country may possess other legal statuses, including permanent resident status (Sotkasiira & Haverinen, 2016, p. 116). Foreign citizens who have obtained a residence permit may acquire rights and obligations, which may be similar to the rights and obligations of a citizen of this country. Thus, without having a legal citizenship status, they may also be participants in a national society and constitute part of the life of the political community (Bosniak, 2000, p. 975).

In my opinion, the approach to citizenship as to a legal status only is not sufficient, as it focuses only on the rights and obligations of the person within a citizenry and refers to belonging to the particular community of citizens on the given territory. Therefore, many doings of the individuals are left outside of the framework of this approach. In this study, I provide these doings with a higher priority as they play an essential role in immigrants' lives.

3.2 Investigating citizenship: acts of citizenship

Typically, citizenship is considered in two modes: citizenship as status and citizenship as practice (Isin, 2009, p. 369). Scholars that examine citizenship as status focus on issues of residence, naturalization, immigration, passport, alienage and deportation. The studies on citizenship as practice concern integration, multiculturalism, cohesion, education, nationalism, and transnationalism (Isin, 2009, p. 369). Both modes of citizenship studies are concentrated on the doer, but not the deed (Isin & Nielsen, 2008, p. 2).

Isin and Nielsen (2008) suggest investigating citizenship differently. They argue that in order to examine citizenship in such a way that it does not come down to any status or practice, it is necessary to focus on those acts when subjects constitute themselves as citizens - regardless of status and practice. The emphasis, according to their proposal, needs to be shifted from the institution of citizenship and the citizen as an individual agent to acts or deeds that produce citizens. Isin and Nielsen (2008) define these deeds as "acts of citizenship".

Isin (2008, p. 37) also challenges the traditional analysis of citizenship that focuses on the extent (rules and norms of exclusion and inclusion), content (rights and responsibilities), and depth (thickness or thinness of belonging). The researcher suggests that these aspects of citizenship "arrive too late, because the actors of extent, content and depth are already produced" (Isin, 2008, p. 37). Acts, for him, "produce actors that do not exist before acts"

(Isin, 2008, p. 37). He defines acts of citizenship as those that produce citizens and their others: strangers, outsiders, and aliens.

Nyers (2015, p. 33) claims that acts of citizenship stress the ambiguities, contingencies, and contestations of citizenship, as opposed to the certainty and formalities of legal approaches to citizenship. Instead of the question "Who is a citizen?", which implies an answer within the legal framework, the central question of theorizing acts of citizenship becomes the question "What makes the citizen?" (Isin, 2009, p. 383). The shift in the question, according to Nyers (2015), allows one to focus on the process, constitutive politics, and everyday struggles of subjects. Likewise, it forces one to pay attention to the enactments of citizenship, how it is performed and negotiated (Nyers, 2010).

The posing of a new question "What makes the citizen?" also switches attention from what people say about citizenship to what people do (Isin, 2009, p. 371). The one who performs, thereby, goes by the wayside; and it becomes possible to study citizenship among those who are formally excluded from a citizenship status. That is, all subjects, regardless of their legal status studied within the theoretical concept of acts of citizenship, represent citizens as those to whom "the right to have rights" is due (Nyers, 2010, p. 140; Arendt, 1973). In other words, subjects' doings determine whether they are citizens or not rather than the presence of formal status. Accordingly, this contradicts earlier definitions of citizenship by Bosniak (2000), Hindess (2000), and Turner (2016), in which the authors stress the legal relationship between the individual and the state. Moreover, in contrast to their understanding, non-citizens are not considered in the theoretical concept of acts of citizenship as a special separate category of people that is infringed on their rights and opportunities.

The study of the concept of acts of citizenship automatically requires the study of other vocabulary associated with it. Analyzing acts of citizenship, Isin (2009) introduces concepts such as "sites", "acts", and "actors". The sites of citizenship, according to Isin (2009, p. 370), "are fields of contestation around which certain issues, interests, stakes as

well as themes, concepts, and objects assemble". Sites are spatial, but it is possible to consider them as locations or places to the extent that the social or political struggle endows these locations or places with strategic values, expressed symbolically and materially (Isin, 2013, p. 34). As examples of sites of citizenship, Isin (2009, p. 371) mentions streets, courts, borders, media, and networks.

An act indicates a deed or a performance as well as any operation of the mind (Isin, 2008, p. 22). Unlike the actions, acts cannot happen without actors (Ware, 1973 in Isin, 2008, p. 23). They refer to the doings of actors that always involve a decision to perform an act and lead to achievements. These doings, as Isin (2008) argues, can be authored or anonymous, intended or accidental, individual or collective. Acts of citizenship are distinct from citizenship practices, which signify institutionally accumulated processes, such as, for example, voting, learning languages, and paying taxes (Isin & Nielsen, 2008). They are not initiated by the various governmental authorities or state institutions. Kandylis (2017, p. 470) claims that they are rather dependent on people's decisions.

Isin (2013) states that acts of citizenship, as a rule, represent the unauthorized, the creative, and the unconventional. They constitute a rupture of habitual ways, a creation of new opportunities, and a claim of rights aiming to change the established practices, status, and order (Isin & Nielsen, 2008). Their peculiarity lies in calling into question the law, and sometimes its violation (Isin, 2013, p. 40). They are not based on law and are not enacted in the name of the law. As examples of acts of citizenship that refer to denial of institutional practices, Isin (2013, p. 24) mentions tax evasion and refusal to serve in the army.

Actors mean people in this concept. But, the actor of citizenship does not refer to a specific category of people or holders of certain status. On the contrary, Isin (2008; 2009) claims that actors exceed the defined categories and emerge in the interaction of different subjects with each other. Actors, according to him, can be both individuals and organizations.

Actors of citizenship are not necessarily the ones who hold a legal status of citizenship (Isin, 2009). The understanding of who is a citizen in the theoretical concept of acts of citizenship is not based on the definition taken from the legislation of a particular state. Actors constitute themselves as citizens when they claim rights and perform duties (Isin, 2009; Nyers, 2015). Therefore, whether actors are citizens or not, they are equal in claiming rights.

The way of becoming a citizen in this theoretical understanding is not an instruction on the procedure for acquiring legal status. Isin (2009) points out that there are two ways of becoming a citizen for those who do not hold a status of citizenship. The first one, according to him, happens through assimilation, integration, and incorporation, which means that a subject accepts and adapts to local living conditions. The second way, as Isin (2009) observes, implies a challenge of these methods and their subsequent transformation through identification, differentiation, or recognition.

Citizens and non-citizens do not do what is expected from them but instead can act contrary to established norms and rules. Isin (2013, p. 41) introduces the concept of 'activist citizens' to define those subjects who engage in creating new understandings and practices. He opposes them to 'active citizens' who follow existing scripts of conduct. The acts of activist citizens, for him, are creative. Through an act, they can express dissatisfaction against the existing order of affairs and change it.

To conclude, the concept of acts of citizenship allows one to focus on the doings of subjects, through which they constitute themselves as citizens, regardless of their legal status (Isin, 2009). A citizen in this theoretical framework is understood as the one who does not simply follow the rights and obligations determined by law. Here, a citizen is the one who acts contrary to usual norms, changes established practices, and claims rights. Citizenship is thus opposed to the definition of the institution of legal relations, under

which every citizen must adapt. Conversely, it represents a contested institution (Isin, 2009).

I chose acts of citizenship as a theoretical framework for my data analysis since it refuses to understand refugees solely from their legal status and instead suggests considering their acts that they perform to become full members of society. This theoretical framework helps to comprehend that even though refugees are not citizens, they may not agree with the conditions given to them by the authorities regarding various aspects of their lives in the new country, to defend their position, and interact with the authorities. It also allows me to consider what obstacles to interacting with Finnish authorities are encountered in their way.

3.3 Non-citizens' acts of citizenship in previous research

As follows from the previous sub-chapter, Isin's (2008) and his adherents' principles of investigating acts of citizenship that are based on contrasting the traditional understanding of citizenship provide a theoretical background for examining how people who do not possess the citizenship status constitute themselves as citizens. Thus, the concept of acts of citizenship allows one to study the doings of non-citizens aimed at improving their living conditions by claims-making initiatives in the context of restrictions in the sphere of labor, political and social rights that are imposed on them due to the lack of legal status. In this sub-chapter, I present different studies conducted in the diverse geographical locations that describe these claims-making initiatives performed by non-citizens and their modes of interacting with other actors, including individuals who hold a citizenship status. Non-citizens mentioned in these studies have different statuses and grounds for staying in the country.

Several authors used Isin's (2008) theoretical concept to demonstrate acts of citizenship made by undocumented migrants and asylum seekers on various demonstrations, hunger strikes, protests, and other forms of manifestation organized by them as a struggle for

basic rights, belonging, and recognition (Barbero, 2012; Depraetere & Oosterlynck, 2017; Kandylis, 2017; Kanci, 2018; Müller, 2016; Nordling, Sager & Söderman, 2017; Näre, 2020; Oliveri, 2012). Through these manifestations, newcomers created an effective platform for making a statement and solving problems. For example, Depraetere & Oosterlynck (2017), in their study, examined the informal refugee camp built in front of the Foreign Office in Brussels in September 2017 as a contested site for citizenship.

The studies devoted to migrants' manifestations focused on describing their purposes and achievements. The study of Näre (2020) revealed that the key objective of asylum seekers' protest "The Right to Life" in Helsinki, Finland, in spring 2017 was to bring into light the suffering and bureaucratic violence inflicted upon asylum seekers by the state. Oliveri's study (2012) showed that the strikes of migrants living in Italy attracted the media attention and thus made their voices heard. The study of Barbero (2012) found that the demonstrations and hunger strikes performed by undocumented immigrants in Spain led to negotiations with the government and the government's acceptance of some of their demands.

A few authors demonstrated that interactions between citizens and non-citizens could be different in the context of migrants' manifestations. Their studies comprise illustrative examples to consider the modes of enactment, introduced by Isin (2008) as solidaristic and alienating. As disclosed in these studies, the sense of solidarity among the local population could be expressed diversely. For example, Müller (2016) revealed that solidarity between Jewish people and the refugee community in Israel was demonstrated through joint public celebrations. Furthermore, Barbero (2012) indicated that various Spanish activists and organizations expressed their solidarity by signing a petition where they supported the demands of immigrants. Oliveri (2012) described that the acts of solidarity among the local population and non-politicized organizations involved providing warm food and dry clothes for migrants who participated in strikes in Italy.

The solidarity movements described in some studies helped to achieve the desired result. Kandylis (2017) highlighted that the support from representatives of the Afghan community, political and anti-racist groups, members of NGOs, and other citizens in Athens led to the reduction of hunger and meeting the basic needs of newcomers from Afghanistan. Likewise, Müller (2016) found that joint manifestation of Eritrean refugees and various civil society organizations and other concerned Israeli citizens resulted in refugees' release from custody in Israel.

Some studies included the description of events that can be interpreted as alienating. For example, Oliveri (2012) mentioned that undocumented migrants' struggles in Italy stimulated the hostility of far-right movements. Müller (2016) noted that along with the manifestations supporting asylum-seekers, anti-refugee demonstrations took place in Tel Aviv. Sometimes these demonstrations encompassed physical violence against African residents and ransacking their flats or businesses (Müller, 2016, p. 59). "The Right to Life" protest in Finland, as Näre (2020) described, provoked counter-demonstrations that involved acts of harassment and violence against the asylum seekers.

Drawing on Isin's (2008) theory on acts of citizenship, the relationship between different actors is also considered beyond the context of migrants' public protests and demonstrations. Müller (2016, pp. 56-57) discovered that Eritrean asylum seekers in Israel sought to change attitudes within the country towards them and publicize to the Israeli authorities that they are rightful refugees and not so-called "infiltrators". One of their initiatives, as the author mentioned, was the creation of an Eritrean committee. This committee carried out acts, such as the production of ID cards to Eritrean asylum seekers and the issue of the newspaper Refugee Voice (Müller, 2016, p. 56). In her study, Stock (2019) analyzed the caring relationship between asylum seekers and volunteers in Germany. The author argued that the support that individuals receive from volunteers during the asylum-seeking process helps them claim basic rights and services and alter the ways of engaging with the state and public institutions. The caring practices, as Stock (2019) stated, contribute to a more inclusive migration policy.

Some studies describing situations of migrants who possess other statuses than the undocumented and asylum-seekers use the theoretical framework of acts of citizenship to demonstrate their work towards inclusion into society. Mansouri and Mikola (2014) examined how migrant youth become actors of citizenship in Australia without necessarily rejecting their own cultural heritage. The authors claimed that sites of citizenship of this youth are various organizations and educational institutions. Their study revealed that young migrants manifested themselves as political subjects by taking membership in numerous organizations and networks, and engaging in community events, school activities, local councils, and cultural events. One of the study participants said that he decided to pursue a degree in social work to contribute to positive social changes among migrant youth (Mansouri & Mikola, 2014, p. 32).

The study of Sotkasiira and Haverinen (2016) demonstrated that Somali refugees are forced to battle for their social rights and their sense of security in a small eastern Finnish town Lieksa. The authors argued that harassment in the media, questioning rights, and acts of violence towards refugees kept the Somalis from benefiting from the welfare to which they are entitled. As the study results revealed, the refugees confront the given situation by engaging in political activity on the municipal level and liaising with local authorities regarding various everyday issues. According to Sotkasiira and Haverinen (2016), Somalis' moving to Lieksa also appears as an act of citizenship. Despite the hostility against immigrants, the refugees move to this town and thereby show that the right to choose one's place of residence belongs to them (Sotkasiira & Haverinen, 2016, p. 118).

To sum up, the individuals achieve their goals and make their voices heard through their acts that one knows as acts of citizenship, regardless of their legal status in the country. Different non-citizen groups mentioned in these studies, such as undocumented migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees, perform acts of citizenship when they get to know a new

society and become a part of it. Thus, their acts are intended for integration and are a part of the integration process.

4. Methodology

My study analyzes refugees' acts of citizenship during their integration process and factors that prevent refugees from pursuing acts of citizenship. This chapter begins with an outline of the research method that I used to collect my data. Further, it provides the information on the research participants, that is, on the criteria that I followed to select and recruit them. I also describe how I performed the data collection and discuss the peculiarities of conducting interviews in different languages. After that, I present the method used for data analysis. Lastly, I introduce the ethical issues that I considered in this research.

4.1 Qualitative approach

For the research strategy of my study, I chose qualitative methodology as it allowed me to investigate the topic from the perspective of research participants without placing them into a strict framework. This research strategy is relatively open and flexible rather than quantitative methodology, which predetermines precisely what ought to be investigated (Bryman, 1988, p. 66). It gave me the opportunity to discover entirely unforeseen themes during the data collection and even find out that the primary focus of my study was less relevant than I had expected.

I have initially planned to investigate refugees' locational choices and the influence of refugees' move to the Finnish Capital Region on their integration. The beginning of data collection has shown that the selected topics do not generate much interest among the research participants. Instead, they raised questions about obtaining the knowledge and skills necessary for their integration. Therefore, I chose the theoretical concept of acts of citizenship to highlight how refugees work towards becoming active members of Finnish

society. My research focus changed from the topic of refugees' locational choices to the topic of refugees' acts of citizenship. The original topic remained but became minor. I discuss the conditions that exist outside the Capital Region as one of the factors preventing refugees from pursuing acts of citizenship.

I chose the interview as a research method, as it enabled me to collect data in accordance with themes that the research participants raised themselves. This method's advantage is that it can provide such information, as tone of voice, facial expression, or hesitation that a written response conceals (Bell &Waters, 2014, p. 178). I conducted interviews in a semi-structured format. This format allows people to answer questions on their own terms, providing them more freedom than a standardized interview does (May, 2011, p. 135). The semi-structured interview lets the researcher enter a dialogue with the interviewee rather than merely ask questions.

4.2 Selection and recruitment of research participants

As a place of selection and recruitment of research participants, I chose the Immigrant Services of the city of Espoo, where I worked as a social advisor at the moment of data collection. I assumed that finding interviewees would be easier and faster among the clients of the organization I already knew. I discuss my position as a worker and researcher from the ethical perspective in the "Ethical considerations" subchapter.

The Immigrant Services take in various categories of immigrants who move to Espoo and support them in adapting to their new place of residence and integrating into Finnish society. These individuals may remain the clients of this institution "for a maximum of three years starting from the first time they are registered in the Population Information System". The Immigrant Services offer guidance and counseling on the Finnish social security system, housing, studying the Finnish language, health services, and family reunification and provides basic information about Finnish society. (City of Espoo, 2020a)

The clients of the Immigrant Services are the following categories of people (interview with the senior social worker, 21.10.2020):

1. Quota refugees;
2. Refugees who have moved to Espoo directly from the reception centers**;**
3. Refugees who have moved to Espoo from another municipality after living there less than 2,5 years from their first entry in the Population Information System (in case they have lived there more than 2,5 years they become the clients of the Adult Social Work Services of Espoo);
4. Individuals who have been granted a residence permit on other grounds, such as a residence permit on compassionate grounds or a residence permit because one cannot be removed from the country;
5. Individuals who have come to the country through refugee family reunification;
6. Unaccompanied minors seeking asylum and unaccompanied minors who have been granted a residence permit;
7. Individuals of the age of 18-25 who have entered the country as unaccompanied minors and have been granted a residence permit;
8. Undocumented immigrants;
9. Victims of human trafficking who have been granted a residence permit.

I decided to select the research participants from the third category because I expected them to share their experience on the services supporting their integration that they were entitled to receive in different locations. According to the Act on the Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers (2009), "an immigrant's right to an integration plan lasts for three years from his or her initial entry in the Population Information System in his or her first municipality of residence". I also narrowed down the chosen category by looking for people who moved to Espoo only from outside the Uusimaa region. Posing this criterion for the selection of research participants, I awaited interviewees to discuss the issues that forced them to change place/places of residence to

the Capital Region. I did not set a time frame for how long my potential interviewees should live in Espoo and how long outside it.

When choosing the familiar organization for selecting and recruiting research participants, I followed the principles of purposive sampling. This sampling method implies that researchers choose a setting where the processes of their concern are most likely to occur (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:2002 in Silverman, 2013, p. 148). According to the research permit, which I acquired before the data collection, I could not search for the potential participants for the interviews by myself. Instead, the employees of the Immigrant Services who are involved in work with clients selected individuals matching my recruitment criteria and contacted them asking if they could participate in my research. I describe the process of getting a research permit in the "Ethical Considerations" subchapter.

Since I was not allowed to use interpreters for the data collection due to the lack of municipal financial support for this kind of research, employees looked for clients whose level of the Finnish or English language is good enough to participate in the interviews or Russian language speakers, as Russian is my mother tongue. The potential interviewees were provided with the key points of my research using the information sheet I prepared in advance in Finnish and English (see more about the information sheet in "Ethical considerations" subchapter). If clients expressed the consent to participate in my research, the workers took their permission to reveal their mobile phone numbers to me. After getting the phone number of the people interested in participating in the study, I contacted them and agreed on the time and place for the meeting.

The problem I encountered during the recruitment process is that it was challenging for the workers to find individuals meeting all the recruitment criteria and speaking Finnish, English, or Russian. Therefore, in contrary to the initial plan, I included in the study family members who arrived in the country through the refugee family reunification process; the integration time of the sponsor of this family reunification was however

expired, as he lived in the country for longer than three years. I also interviewed one individual who had a residence permit granted on the basis of that he could not be removed from the country since he experienced similar problems as other participants. Additionally, the workers could not find enough people willing to participate in the study who came outside the Uusimaa region. To solve the issue, I conducted two interviews with individuals who moved to Espoo from smaller municipalities of the Uusimaa region. I also made three interviews with individuals for whom Espoo was their third place of residence. Since all these research participants had the experience of internal migration, the topic that I was interested in, I decided not to exclude them from the sample.

4.3 Data collection

Before the data collection, I drafted the list of questions with the intention to cover topics that could help me answer my research questions and allowed space for the themes that were interesting to my research participants. The list of questions contained the questions divided into four thematic blocks: general background of the interviewee; information about the first place of residence and experience of living there; the decision to move; and living experience in the Capital Region (see Appendix 1). The questions of the first thematic block were asked in one sequence. The questions of other thematic blocks were asked in relevant spots of the interview, following how the interviewees described their story.

Each subsequent time my interviewer skills improved. During the later interviews I got a better understanding of how to use follow-up questions in comparison to the earlier ones. The follow-up questions are an important component of the research interview, which allows the interviewer to obtain depth and detail in the subject presented by the interviewee (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 136). The data acquired due to the follow-up questions helped me to formulate additional questions for the next interviews.

Upon the request of the research participants, the interviews took place either at the premises of the Integration Services of the city of Espoo, or Espoo city library. In both places, I booked a separate room in which the interview could be conducted in silence and confidentiality could be maintained. I did 13 interviews, with two of them being pair interviews from June to October 2019. The duration of the interviews varied from 20 minutes to 70 minutes. I recorded the interviews only in case my interviewees did not object to that. Afterward, I excluded one interview from the study as it did not cover the topics involved in my research.

Overall, I interviewed fifteen people, including nine men and six women. They came from Africa, Central Asia, East Asia, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East. For privacy protection reasons, I do not specify their countries of origin. The age of interviewees ranged from 20 to 51 years. Their educational and professional background varied: some hold higher educational degrees and had years of work experience before moving to Finland; others entered basic education for adults or studied professional education in Finland. During the data collection period, I found two interpreters who could participate in my study voluntarily. Not only it helped to facilitate the recruitment process but also allowed to diversify the backgrounds of the research participants and avoid including only well-integrated refugees with a good command of English or Finnish.

The geography of research participants' initial place of residence in Finland extended to the eight regions of the country: North Ostrobothnia, Ostrobothnia, Satakunta, North Karelia, Southern Savonia, South Karelia, Tavastia Proper, and Uusimaa. Some of them lived in a large city, for example, in the center of the region; others experienced living in towns with a population of several thousand people. A location of refugee reception centers can explain such a disperse geography of my research participants' biographies. There are 32 reception centers for adults located both in the capitals and other towns of all regions in Finland (the Finnish Immigration Service, 2020d). After obtaining a residence permit, most interviewees moved away from the reception centers to the nearest municipality that they got acquainted with during the asylum-seeking process.

4.4 Doing interviews in different languages

I conducted interviews in Finnish (seven), including two with the help of interpreters, English (five), and Russian (one). Apart from the meetings where the interpreters were present, only one interview was held in research participants' mother tongue, Russian. Consequently, a couple that was interviewed in Russian gave detailed answers to the posed questions and had no difficulties in understanding specific terms such as, for example, integration or basic social assistance. This interview took place in an exceptionally relaxed atmosphere as we spoke the same language. Perhaps, because of a sense of trust that emerged to the compatriot, they not only followed my questions but also narrated personal stories directly unrelated to the research topic. Some argue that it is common in the qualitative study that participants are inclined to believe that they have common experiences and viewpoints with the researchers who share the same race and ethnicity (Liamputtong, 2008, p. 7).

Similarly, the research participants interviewed with an interpreter were talkative and straightforward. I did not feel that the presence of a third person significantly affected the interview environment and the responses of interviewees. The reason for this may be that the interviewing procedure with an interpreter was familiar to them as they repeatedly went through it with various officials both before and after obtaining a residence permit.

With regard to my profession, the interaction with an interpreter was not something new for me either. The interpreting process occurred simultaneously with my speech, except for the cases when an interpreter, with my permission, repeated or rephrased some questions. A significant drawback of these interviews was the inability to assess the quality of the translation, which, in turn, cast doubt on the quality of the material received. Here, I agree with Björk Brämberg and Dahlberg (2013, p. 241), who stated that a researcher depends on the professional skills of the interpreters and found myself in a situation in which I have no choice but to trust in the accuracy of their translation.

The interviews that I held in Finnish and English, in turn, progressed differently as research participants' language proficiency varied. Some spoke fluently and, accordingly, understood me and expressed themselves freely; others could not always figure out what I was talking about and often asked to repeat questions. The latter cases resulted in monosyllabic replies, misunderstandings, or even an absence of responses. Although I was initially prepared for the language barrier and kept in mind various options of the same question, it did not always help to get comprehensive data. Sometimes I could reformulate a question several times in such a way that, in the end, it assumed a "yes" or "no" answer and involved a fairly meager response. Sometimes, despite my numerous attempts to clarify the question's meaning, the interviewee's reply was "I don't know" or "I don't understand". Lack of vocabulary was also a reason why the interviewee could not tell everything he or she wanted. For example, one of the participants used both English and Finnish languages in her speech, trying to express herself as well as addressed a mobile translator application to find the right word. Despite these difficulties, I managed to understand the key points of interviewees' integration process in Finland.

It is believed that an interview can be successful only if the interviewer and the interviewee understand each other (Rastas, 2009, p. 79). However, in the cases where research participants do not speak the same language with the interviewer, one cannot exclude the researcher's misunderstanding of interviewees' experiences as well (Kosny et al., 2014, pp. 837-838). To avoid that, I asked follow-up questions to make sure that we interpret the same concepts in the same way.

4.5 Data analysis

Since one of the interviewees refused to be recorded, I had eleven recordings in total. I made written notes during the interview that was not recorded. All the recordings were transcribed verbatim without correcting grammar and lexical mistakes Every hour of the interview took a few hours of work. It was especially difficult to transcribe those

interviews where either couples or interpreters were present. Moreover, the language challenges of some research participants influenced the course of my data analysis. In the end, I had 79 pages of transcribed text. Some interview quotes were polished in the final research report in order to make them more comprehensible. The transcriptions of the interviews conducted in Finnish and Russian were translated to English.

Already in the process of transcribing, I made some comments in my notebook to remember what themes I should pay attention to during the analysis. The analysis started after all the transcripts were prepared, and no specialized software was used for it. As my analysis method, I used the thematic analysis. The thematic analysis focuses on identifying and describing themes from the collected data (Guest et al., 2012, p. 10). Following the procedure, I read transcripts several times, searching for the themes that emerged out of my data. I started labeling words, phrases, and sections that could be relevant for my research. This process is called coding (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 207). It proved to be important to code the fragments of text that were repeated in several places; the fragments consistent with what I have read in previously published scientific articles; and the fragments that surprised me. After that, I went through all the codes and created the themes by combining several codes together. I omitted some codes that seemed irrelevant and labeled all the themes.

4.6 Ethical considerations

In this sub-chapter, I discuss the ethical issues that I considered when conducting my research. This discussion is divided into two parts: ethics within my interactions with the Immigrant Services workers and ethics within my interactions with the interviewees.

4.6.1 Ethics within the interactions with the Immigrant Services workers

I needed a research permit for conducting a study with the clients of the Immigrant Services. The research permit application had to be carried out through the Social- and

Healthcare Department of the City of Espoo (City of Espoo, 2020b). I filled the electronic application form and attached a research proposal required to support it. The research permit was granted in a month after my request. According to the research permit conditions, I must submit the final research report to the Social- and Healthcare department of the City of Espoo (See research permit in Appendix 4).

After I got the research permit, I introduced my research proposal to the senior social workers of the Immigrant Services and discussed with them my schedule of data collection and various possibilities on how to recruit study participants. Senior social workers permitted me to conduct the interviews in the premises of the Immigrant Services. We agreed on the date when I present my research outline to the employees who will participate in selecting research participants. I visited three meetings of three different teams that work with refugees of different age and marital status.

I additionally sent a brief description of my research to all employees by e-mail with an attached information sheet in Finnish and English languages intended for potential study participants. The information sheet contained information on who I am, my study's purposes, and what interview themes it covers (See Appendix 2). It also showed the practical information on the expected length of the interview and contained a field for the signature. By signing this document, study participants gave consent to release their contact information to me. I recommended employees to print the information sheet out before the meetings with potential interviewees and go through it with them.

4.6.2 Ethics within the interactions with the interviewees

My goal was to conduct ethically responsible research, the fundamental principles of which are the assurance of voluntary participation, provision of confidentiality for the interview's process and contents, protection from harm, and provision of mutual trust between the researcher and study participant (Silverman, 2006, p. 323).

Before the data collection, I drafted the informed consent in Finnish and English (see Appendix 3), considering possible language proficiency differences among potential interviewees. I tried to avoid the use of complex concepts and expressions in the consent's text. Making it accessible and understandable is an important principle in drafting the informed consent (Sieber, 2009, p. 111). I also provided the space for signature in the consent form. Signature under the informed consent expresses the explicit agreement of the interviewees to participate in the research (Sieber, 2009, p. 111). When I had an interview meeting with a couple, both spouses signed the document. Another informed consent's function was to indicate that all the materials received from the them will be used safely and strictly for their intended purpose. In the informed consent, research participants could also choose whether they agree to be audio-recorded by ticking yes or no boxes.

Like in the information sheet, I wrote specifically that participation in the research would not affect the services they receive in the city of Espoo. Thus, I emphasized that this study is not related to the Immigration Services, and the transfer of any data to the employees of this organization will not occur under any circumstances. In my opinion, due to this clarification, the interviewees did not perceive me as an official but willingly and openly answered my questions during the interview. None of these people were my clients during any point of my work in the Immigrant Services. The fact that the interview took place on the premises of the Immigrant Services also did not confuse them about my role in this study. Many people themselves insisted on this place, as it was familiar to them, and it was convenient for them to resolve issues with a social worker on the day of the interview.

With each of the participants, I went through all the paragraphs of the informed consent. I did not need to translate it into Russian, as the Russian-speaking study participants partially understood what was written in Finnish, and I verbally translated the rest into Russian. The research participants signed two copies of the informed consent; one remained with them, the other with me. Together with the information sheets, informed consents were kept in my home, in a place accessible only to me.

To ensure the anonymity of the study participants, I replaced their names with pseudonyms and omitted all the references to places and religion. It allowed me to present the results of the study in such a way that none of the participants could be recognized as an individual or family. Anonymity was also emphasized as a key requirement in the research permit. Either I or the interviewees themselves composed the pseudonyms based on their ethnic background that I could use in the final report. I did not anonymize the organization because it was necessary for providing the context of my research. It was impossible to jeopardize the anonymity of the participants by publishing the name of the organization, as the number of its clients is high. According to the senior social worker (interview on 21.10.2020), the total number of clients in the Immigrant Services in 2019 was about 2500. Interpreters, who participated in the data collection, also guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality by verbally expressing their commitment to respect the obligation of professional secrecy. The records and transcribed interviews were stored on my personal computer, protected by password until the submission of my research.

All the interview meetings started with the procedure of informing. It included an introduction of who I am, a brief but accurate statement of the research objectives, and an announcement on the absence of negative consequences in case of non-cooperation (Fowler, 1986, pp. 135-138 in Veselkova, 2000, p. 112). Assuming that some questions could cause unpleasant emotions or memories, I also stated the opportunity to skip any question if the participant is unwilling to answer it. I did not touch upon such topics as the living experience in the homeland, reasons for arrival to Finland, and life in the Finnish reception center except for cases when interviewees themselves began to discuss them. Personal work experience with this social group and knowledge of their anxieties and pain points in the earlier stages of the integration process helped me cover some issues delicately during the interviews and minimize the risks of causing harm and frustration.

I introduced myself to the interview participants not as an employee of the Immigrant Services of the city of Espoo, though, but as a student and as a person with an immigrant

background. Whenever anyone asked, I shared the information on my studies, and in my opinion, it contributed to building the trust between us. Generally, at all stages of working with interviewees, from the first telephone contact to the end of the interview, I gave detailed information on my research and provided more information whenever they asked. It was a necessary procedure to establish a rapport and avoid misunderstanding regarding the significance and application of the research. Otherwise, the interviewee may consent to the interview, for example, hoping to receive any service from the interviewer (Rastas, 2009, p. 83).

I could not avoid misunderstandings during my data collection completely. For example, one of the research participants suggested to meet again in an informal setting and continue our communication on topics unrelated to the research. I refused this offer because I considered to be unethical to have informal contact with a participant of my research. Another research participant asked for my advice regarding the social assistance application after the interview. Perhaps, this situation arose because the interviewee knew about my position in the Immigrant Services and felt that I had the power to influence some issues. I did not interfere in his social affairs but advised him to address this issue to his social worker.

5. Refugees' acts of citizenship during the integration process

In this chapter, I present the results of the analysis of the interviews that I conducted with twelve refugees. The interviews describe refugees' integration process and their actions that were creating opportunities for the realization of their social, economic, and cultural needs and making them active members of society. I analyze these actions using Isin's (2008) theoretical framework of acts of citizenship and interpret them as acts that enable refugees to constitute themselves and perform as citizens. I also find the parallels between my data and the previous research on the topic of non-citizens' acts of citizenship. I divide this chapter into three parts, each of them devoted to one of the acts that I identified as

"Finnish language learning", "Job search", and "Political activity and establishment of social relations".

5.1 Finnish language learning

Except for a woman on maternity leave and a man with a temporary residence permit, all my study participants at the time of conducting the interviews were registered as jobseekers at the TE Office. As residents who lived in the country for no more than three years, interviewees used the TE Office's services that primarily supported their integration. Within a framework of the integration plan drawn up in the TE Office, some of them were already taking part in a full-time Finnish language course or other education or training intended for immigrants, while others were waiting for their first language course.

Registering as a jobseeker is a prerequisite for any unemployed refugee of legal age that is capable of working during the integration period. Since the state initiates this registration, it may seem that the opportunity to learn a language provided by the TE Office is a citizenship practice. But many participants of my research had started learning Finnish even before they became officially enrolled in the integration course. Among the examples of citizenship practices, Isin and Nielson (2008, p. 2) mentioned learning languages characterizing it as passive and one-sided. Based on the data I gathered, I may conclude that refugees' language learning in the early stages of life in the country can be regarded as an act of citizenship since the development and success in this matter largely depend on their activity and initiative.

The activity and initiative in learning the Finnish language were demonstrated by a 32-years-old mother of four children, Azra. In the following interview excerpt, she described how she started to learn the language at the beginning of her life in the country when the TE office's integration services were not accessible for her:

> When I was waiting for a decision [asylum decision], I studied at home by myself. Every time my kids were at school, I was at home watching Finnish language videos on YouTube (Azra, 4.7.2019).

Azra mentioned the period of being an asylum seeker, when she could not be a client of the TE office and, accordingly, was deprived of the opportunity to attend a Finnish language course organized by it. Since the asylum seeking is usually a long process, it may take several years to receive a full-time language course from the TE office after one's arrival to the country. During this stage of life, language learning is rather asylum seeker's personal choice than a mandatory practice. Azra did not wait for a residence permit to learn the language but took advantage of online materials. Thus, the initial Finnish language skills that Azra acquired during the asylum process allowed her to search and apply to various educational institutions for further language and professional development immediately after obtaining a residence permit:

> I applied to many schools and waited for a response. I got a place in [name of the school]. I studied Finnish for six months there. After that, I got a place in a vocational school (Azra, 4.7.2019).

Fast admission to an educational institution in a new country of residence accelerated the integration of Azra, which, according to the theoretical framework of acts of citizenship (Isin, 2009), allowed her to become a citizen without holding a legal status of citizenship. It also allowed Azra to solve everyday problems independently and quickly without requiring frequent assistance from municipal and state institutions. Thus, new opportunities were created. According to Isin and Nielsen (2008), it is a characteristic of any act of citizenship.

> When I got an apartment in Espoo, I took care of my children's school, kindergarten, a moving van, and other things on my own. I managed all these things over the phone. I always say that if I didn't speak Finnish, my issues

> wouldn't have been solved. If I wait, for example, for my social worker… My social worker has many clients, not only me. If I wait for the meeting with her, it could take a month or one and a half month (Azra, 4.7.2019).

Similarly to Azra, 46-years-old Viktor started learning Finnish immediately after arriving in the country. Together with his wife and son, he attended a language course that was organized at the reception center where they stayed during the asylum-seeking process:

> According to the schedule, we had two Finnish language lessons per week, each one lasting one and a half hours. But lessons were canceled very often. Sometimes we were the only people in the camp who visited these lessons. Only three or four people out of two hundred were there. That is, almost no one participated in the course. That is, it worked in a poor manner (Viktor, 9.8.2019).

Viktor reported that despite dissatisfaction with this course's organization, all his family members continued to attend it. By doing so, they constituted themselves as citizens. They acted unconventionally and differently from most reception centers' residents since they used every provided opportunity to learn the language. Possessing refugee status at the time of the interview, Viktor revealed his family's immediate plans as follows:

> There are no opportunities without a language. That is why we plan to learn the language (Viktor, 9.8.2019).

The above interview excerpt demonstrates that Viktor believes learning a language to be the fundamental task, and his family's other plans and the possibilities for their implementation depend on it. Learning a language is thus represented as an intentional and purposive act of citizenship.

Other study participants also perceive language learning as a way to achieve goals and create new opportunities. 44-years-old Jamal, who was in the TE office queue for the

integration training together with his wife at the moment of the interview, considers that the knowledge of the Finnish language is necessary for employment in the country:

> We are waiting for the Finnish courses. It isn't easy to find a job without knowing the Finnish language (Jamal, 22.7.2019).

29-years-old Mimo, who lives in Finland together with the family, indicated that one of his language learning purposes is obtaining a legal status of citizenship in the country. He participated in the test for The National Certificate of Language Proficiency (YKI) in Finnish, according to the results of which he fulfilled the language requirement to acquire Finnish citizenship. Mimo stated that he had already received the certificate that one should submit to the Finnish Immigration Service when making a citizenship application:

> I hope to get Finnish citizenship. They [The Finnish Immigration Service] need this paper. And now, I have that paper (Mimo, 22.6.2019).

The mother of two children, 29-years-old Sahiba, discussed the importance of the Finnish language skills in everyday life and pointed out the difficulties that she encountered due to their lack:

> I have neighbors who are immigrants, but I don't understand them at all. And they don't understand me at all either. She [one neighbor] has two sons who are quite naughty. They are about the age of my son. And I would like my son to have some friends in my neighborhood, but, at the same time, I have concerns that whether he is going to learn some bad behaviors from them because I did see some bad behaviors from them. So, if I, you know, can speak Finnish, I would go up to the mother and talk about how we can plan some kind of play date, you know, to visit each other to talk about how to, you know, raise our kids. You know, I can tell her like what I see, how her children are behaving. It's a little bit concerning. But I

> couldn't do that because of this language barrier. So, this is, I think, the biggest discomfort I have experienced (Sahiba, 15.8.2019).

Being excluded from the TE office's services due to maternity leave at the time of data collection, Sahiba plans to participate in Finnish language courses meant for parents who take care of their children at home and come to the classes together with their children:

> My social worker recommended that [language courses for immigrant parents]. And I also saw it online. I am planning to do it after my son is enrolled in daycare so that I can go there with the baby, not with both of them (Sahiba, 15.8.2019).

One can conclude from Sahiba's interview that she wishes to learn the language when she cannot apply for full-time Finnish language courses due to family circumstances. Such an intention can be viewed as an act of citizenship since it is her own initiative based on her desire to improve her living conditions, including expanding the opportunities to meet and communicate with the local population. Participation in the language courses for immigrant parents indicates that Sahiba does not wait for the usual way of learning the language that the TE Office can offer after the end of her maternity leave. Instead, she aspires to speed up the process of language learning and integration. Like some other interviewees, Sahiba does not only rely on the services provided by the TE office but also considers that it is necessary to demonstrate her own activity in language learning at the initial stages of life in Finland.

5.2 Job search

At the time of conducting the interviews, most of the study participants were unemployed, and The Social Insurance Organization (Kela), a state body providing financial allowances for residents of Finland, was their only source of income. Some interviewees informed me that they were looking for a job during their integration training or in the moment of queuing for the language courses. Others searched for a temporary job for the

period of a summer break. Same as the participation in Finnish language courses, their job search can be considered as an act of citizenship since it is accompanied by pursuing specific goals and oriented to the change of established practices and order as well as the creation of new opportunities.

Mimo mentioned that he is actively engaged in looking for a job, aspiring to become financially independent from the state, and reduce his interaction with Kela. He described Kela as a complex bureaucratic system that is difficult to understand and interact with:

> I need to find any job in Finland to cut all my relations with Kela. Every day I must look for a job (Mimo, 22.6.2019).

Financial problems prompted another interviewee to search for a job. 23-years-old Karim, who was accomplishing basic education for adults, said that he had recently got into a difficult situation due to Kela's refusal to pay some of his housing expenses. To cope with an unplanned financial burden, he found a part-time job for the summer break. He described his plans to continue the job search since the work that he found does not solve all his financial difficulties:

> I work three to six hours daily. My salary is around seven hundred or one thousand euros. It is not enough. Then I must come up with something else (Karim, 13.6.2019).

51-years-old Maji's goal in the job search is to support his family that lives outside Finland. He mentioned that he is engaged in developing business contacts, providing free consultations as well as exchanging professional experience and knowledge with Finnish companies to find stable paid work in the nearest future:

> I'm trying to search for a job all the time. I even have good contacts with some companies. Some companies know me very well, because I helped them, you

> know, for free. Sometimes I give them my advice. But, you know, I need to work to help my family (Maji, 24.10.2019).

Being students of a vocational school, 23-years-old Adil, and 27-years-old Muka are engaged in searching for an internship and summer work correspondingly to gain experience in their field and increase the chances of further employment after graduation.

> I am searching for an internship in a pharmacy or hospital. The pharmaceutical sector. I would like to gain knowledge in this field. I will get some certificate after completing it (Adil, 16.8.2019).

> I am trying to find a job now. Some companies have already responded to my applications. I am just looking for a job as a building cleaner. I am studying to become a construction worker, so I need to understand this field from the inside (Muka, 11.7.2019).

Muka added that he had found a company that is ready to recruit him after obtaining an occupational safety card, the card needed for employment in the construction sector:

> They offered me a job, but they said I must get a safety card. So that's why I must wait for the decision of my social worker, so I can get a safety card. If I get the safety card, I can go to work (Muka, 11.7.2019).

As one sees from the interview excerpt stated above, Muka addressed the social worker for getting financial support to complete training that provides a safety card. This act characterizes him as an activist citizen, who, according to Isin (2013), is distinguished by his creativity and ability to change the existing order of affairs. Being unable to pay for the training by himself, he did everything necessary to find a way to achieve his goal in employment.

5.3 Political activity and establishment of social relations

Participation in political activities and the establishment of social relations came up in interviewees' discussions on their daily activities in the initial stages of their life in Finland. I consider these actions to be acts of citizenship since many interviewees performed them to achieve the feeling of belonging and find further opportunities for getting acquainted with the Finnish society. These acts of citizenship also had a goal of familiarizing the local population with the problems of immigrants and their culture.

Muka stated that by engaging in volunteer activities organized by one of the country's political parties, he learned about Finnish society and Finnish people and can share his experience of dealing with the difficulties refugees face while living in Finland. In other words, his political activity is aimed at the mutual exchange of knowledge and improving the living conditions of immigrants in the country:

> When you pay a membership fee, you understand more about how this government, how this society is working, and how people are thinking. [name of the party] is sending me invitations to some events and meetings every week. For example, if there is a meeting in Espoo, I go there. We discuss the immigrants' situation. Because I am an immigrant, they ask me how immigrants feel, how they can get a job. Then I tell them that there are many unemployed among immigrants because they don't have enough training or education. Maybe they are unlucky. They can't get a job despite making lots of job applications. For example, I applied for ten jobs last week, but I got only one response. So that means everybody is trying to get a job, but it is not easy to get one (Muka, 11.7.2019).

The political party that Muka belongs to symbolizes a site of citizenship. It provides him an opportunity to state his concerns, in particular, the unemployment issue, and demand changes in this regard. A similar finding was also reported by Mansouri and Mikola (2014). They identified various organizations and educational institutions where young

Australian migrants engage to achieve positive change regarding their lives as sites of citizenship.

Another interviewee, Maji, also declared his intentions to get in touch with Finnish politicians to highlight the situation of his homeland Iraq and Iraqi refugees living in Finland:

> I try to have contacts with Finnish politicians and Finnish people. It would be good if Finnish people know how Iraqi people have suffered and learn more about people who come to Finland from Iraq (Maji, 24.10.2019).

Muka's and Maji's statements demonstrate that both interviewees pursue to share knowledge about people who are coming to Finland as asylum seekers and shed light on their problems. In other words, they wish to make the refugees' voices heard. The purposes of making immigrants' voices heard and declaring their problems were discussed in previous research on acts of citizenship written by Oliveri (2012) and Müller (2016), and also in Finland by Sotkasiira and Haverinen (2016) and Näre (2020). However, in contrast to my findings that revealed refugees attempts of using direct contacts with politicians to make a statement, the studies of Müller (2016), Näre (2020), and Oliveri (2012) describe immigrants' demonstrations and other forms of public protest as a platform for declaring their problems and hopes. On the other hand, Sotkasiira and Haverinen (2016) mentioned in their study that refugees declare their position through participation in municipal politics.

Another purpose of Muka's and Maji's political activity is to reduce the number of prejudices against immigrants. Describing difficulties in finding a job to his political party associates, Muka intended to show that refugees are active members of society, but not those who are satisfied with merely receiving social benefits. This finding is consistent with the study results of Müller (2016, p. 56), who found that Eritrean asylum seekers' in Israel mobilized and created the Eritrean committee to manifest that they are rightful

refugees, not “economic migrants” or “infiltrators”. In other words, their intentions were to change the attitude within Israel towards refugees (Müller, 2016, p. 57).

Also, interviewees emphasized the importance of making social relations with the Finns, who are not necessarily political figures. For example, Maji discussed that the new acquaintances are essentially important for developing the Finnish language skills and supporting the integration process:

> I would like to make more contacts with Finnish people. I would especially like to meet people with qualifications. Because, you know, this is good for the development of my language and normal integration into society (Maji, 24.10.2019).

Another interviewee, Azra, identified her Finnish acquaintances as her source of information through which she learns how to manage her daily life situations:

> It is very important for me to get acquainted with new people, Finnish people because I live in Finland. I am getting stronger because of having many Finnish friends. I do not mean that I want to have a lot of friends in order they take care of my things. No! I receive new information every day. For example, I wanted to buy a couch, and I didn’t have money because I was not working. I am a student. Then, I asked my friend where I can buy a cheap couch and she gave me a lot of links. It helped me a lot, so I went and bought this couch by myself (Azra, 4.7.2019).

Viktor and his wife Galina also mentioned that they often ask Finnish-speaking friends for help in filling different applications, apartment searches, and other daily matters due to the lack of Finnish language skills. The interview excerpt below illustrates one of the family’s everyday life situations when they rely on their friends’ assistance:

> For example, we were in a pharmacy yesterday. We were not able to call the social office from there. Some [communication] issues arose immediately there, and it was urgent to look for someone who could explain the situation. We are really happy that we have many friends and acquaintances who are ready to help (Galina, 9.8.2019).

Viktor added that those refugees who do not have the support of Finnish-speaking friends "torment the social services" more often. Social relations of Viktor's family expanded the opportunities to seek the solution of their everyday problems and avoid their complete reliance on the help of municipal and state institutions.

My study participants did not mention other organizations except Kela and social services or groups of people except friends and acquaintances, like volunteers, who also can provide an assistance in solving the everyday problems of newcomers. Stock (2019) found that volunteers help refugees living in Germany to claim fundamental rights and services and alter the ways of engaging with the state and public institutions. My findings show that refugees utilize political engagement and making social relations as one more source of information in addition to state and municipal institutions or as possibility to solve problems without contacting officials at all.

Along with such acts of citizenship as learning the Finnish language and job search, political activity and making social relations promotes refugees' acquaintance with the Finnish society, improvement of their Finnish language skills, and strengthening a sense of belonging to society, in other words, enables them to become citizens. In contrast to a typical vision of refugees as individuals lacking self-motivation and fully relying on the welfare system, they are proactive members of society and try to reach independence as soon as possible and also make a social change. In the following chapter, I discuss what prevents refugees from pursuing acts of citizenship.

6. Factors that prevent refugees' acts of citizenship

In this chapter, I continue to present the results of the data analysis of the interviews using Isin's (2008) theoretical framework of acts of citizenship and the previous research. The chapter introduces the study participants' descriptions of various challenges that refugees in Finland face after obtaining a residence permit. I divide it into two subchapters as there are two factors causing these challenges and preventing refugees from pursuing acts of citizenship. At first, I discuss the lack of conditions that are necessary for the effective integration of refugees outside the Finnish Capital Region. Further, I focus on the difficulties that refugees encounter in obtaining the available social services. According to interviewees, both these factors entail the emergence of further problems, but at the same time push them to find a solution to difficult life situations.

6.1 Lack of integration conditions outside the Finnish Capital Region

At the time of conducting interviews, all my study participants were living in Espoo. For some of them, Espoo was the second place of residence in Finland. For others, it was already the third; they ended up in Espoo after living for a while in another municipality of the Finnish Capital Region. All the interviewees made their first registration as residents of Finland in a city outside the Capital Region. After obtaining the Finnish residence permit, most of them moved away from the reception center to a municipality near that reception center using the contacts acquired in the asylum-seeking process for finding their first apartment. Thus, one can say that their first home municipality's choice was random since it did not always depend on their decisions, but on the location of their reception center. The interviewees, who entered the country on the grounds of family reunification, could not influence the choice of their first place of residence either. They moved into the town of their family member's residence. One interviewee who applied for asylum while being a university student in Northern Finland continued to live and study in the same place after obtaining a residence permit.

On the contrary, the choice of second and subsequent places of residence in the country for my research participants was more deliberate. After realizing that the municipality where they were living does not have the right conditions for their integration into Finnish society, they used their constitutional right to move freely within the country. According to their statements, poor integration conditions implied limited employment and educational opportunities, lack of social relations and leisure activities, racism and prejudices. The descriptions of interviewees' lives outside the Capital Region brought me to the conclusion that their places of residence cannot be a site for the implementation of their acts of citizenship. The interviewees intentionally chose the Capital Region as their new place of residence. The moving to the Capital Region itself could be considered as an act of citizenship rather than a usual situation since, in this way, they expressed their disagreement with the state of affairs in which they found themselves.

6.1.1 Limited employment and educational opportunities

Many research participants rated their chances of professional self-realization outside the Finnish Capital Region as very small based on unsuccessful attempts in finding a job, practical training, or a study place. Limited employment and educational opportunities prevented refugees from pursuing such acts of citizenship as job search and learning of the Finnish language and prompted them to leave their first place of residence. The choice of the Capital Region as a subsequent place of living was often made after researching and comparing the job market and educational services market in various regions of the country.

Mimo mentioned that when he was a resident of a town in Southeast Finland with a population of 27 thousand people, he talked about career prospects with his social worker. Having a degree in engineering and a knowledge of English, he tried to get a job in some international company. The conversation with the social worker, who advised him to consider Espoo as the possible city where he can find a job corresponding to his education, influenced his decision to change a place of residence:

> She [social worker] told me: I suggest Espoo, it is good for you because Espoo has a lot of companies (Mimo, 22.6.2019).

In addition to the lack of career prospects, Mimo was not satisfied with the organization of language courses provided by the TE office in Southeast Finland. According to his statement, he lacked the language practice that was necessary for the development of Finnish language skills:

> When I studied in [a town in Southeast Finland], there were around twenty students. Nineteen students were from Russia, and I was the only one from Syria. Now I can speak Russian. Not Finnish! (Mimo, 22.6.2019).

Mimo claimed that his conversational skills improved after he moved to Espoo and continued his integration training there. His new course was also organized by the TE office and provided knowledge of Finland's job market. Mimo's new classmates were people of different nationalities, and their common language for communication was Finnish.

> I have a course aimed at getting a job. It gives me some information about the culture in Finland and Finnish companies. When I registered for this course, they [educators] told me about fifty companies that are looking for people that came from… not Finnish people, who have some degree or certificate. Now I am waiting for some offers from these companies. Next week I have an interview (Mimo, 22.6.2019).

Similarly to Mimo, Viktor and his family decided to change their place of living after researching the employment situation in the municipality, to which they moved from the reception center. They suggested that it will be twice as more difficult for them as for immigrants to find a job there since high unemployment is prevailing even among the Finns:

> We found out that there is no job in [a town in Southern Finland]. There is no job! Even some of the Finns are unemployed, even though they do not drink or smoke. Of course, there are different asocial elements. But most people living there are good. They just have difficulties with work. Some of them travel to work in the metropolitan area (Viktor, 9.8.2019).

Another research participant supported this point of view and mentioned that it is a problem to become employed in a provincial Finnish town. According to 20-years-old Said, the state of the labor market in the place where he initially lived did not allow him to work as a barber, the profession he mastered in his home country. In the following interview excerpt, he described his employment opportunities in the town with a population of 18 000 people located in the south-east of Finland:

> There is not much opportunity to get a job or practical training as a barber. If you want to get practical training, you can get one in a church or a flea market. There is no third option (Said, 20.7.2019).

Therefore, the limited choice of occupations in small towns does not let individuals with immigrant background take advantage of their skills. It forces them to spend more time looking for suitable employment, learn a new profession, agree to participate in available activities, or look for opportunities to implement professional plans by moving to another place. Said has chosen the latter. He stressed that he managed to find practical training in a barbershop after moving to Espoo.

Muka also faced the situation of compelled change of residence due to the lack of educational opportunities. Living in a small town with the majority being Swedish speakers, he encountered difficulties in finding a pre-vocational preparatory education for immigrants conducted in Finnish, the language he has been studying. He needed this type of education to improve his opportunities to apply to vocational training and, at the same

time, to develop his Finnish language skills. According to Muka, there was only one educational institution in this town that offered the relevant program. Still, the application did not guarantee him a study place due to high competition:

> When I finished my language courses in [the educational institution in the town of Southern Finland], I tried to apply for another course. This course was intended only for the immigrants who are interested in working in the construction industry. I like to work at construction sites. So, I applied to it and was waiting for an answer for a long time (Muka, 11.7.2019).

Muka described that he applied to another educational institution located in the metropolitan area to increase his chances of continuing the studies. It was done before he received the admission results from the school in the town where he lived:

> The academic year begins in August. I thought that if I don't get a place to study, I will have to wait until December because no other school will accept me. [in the middle of the semester]. So, I applied to [name of the school located near the Finnish Capital Region]. Then [this school] gave me an answer after seven days and invited me to the interview. I went to the interview and passed. They said that I have to come in August. That's how I moved (Muka, 11.7.2019).

Muka's decision to move was also influenced by his belief that knowledge of the Swedish language, which is widely taught in the Swedish-speaking municipality, is insufficient for employment in the country. Despite Swedish being one of the state languages in Finland, Finnish is required in the job market quite often.

> Before I got the residence permit, I used to study Swedish. But, actually, if you study Swedish in the big city, it is not easy to get a job. So, many immigrants study Finnish to get a job (Muka, 11.7.2019).

Therefore, Muka started to learn Finnish after some time after arriving in the country. But later, he realized that learning only the Finnish language in Swedish-speaking municipalities does not benefit interaction with the locals:

> I had friends in [the town of Southern Finland]. They speak the Swedish language. I cannot integrate because there is a lot of misunderstanding. Because in school, I study Finnish. In society, they speak Swedish. So, I am confused. That's why I moved here to Espoo (Muka, 11.7.2019).

The research participants demonstrated that they question the possibility to integrate into Finnish society in conditions when the grounds for integration have not been created. The way of becoming citizens through the official integration channels was challenging for them. Limited employment and educational opportunities that interviewees faced living in small towns did not allow them to acquire and develop the skills necessary for career prospects in the country. They did not enable refugees to get acquainted with the Finnish community and adapt to it through employment and studying. Interviewees considered that the only way to get out of such an environment was to change a living place. Thus, when they move, they commit an act of citizenship, which is provoked by their own initiative and aimed at improving their way of life, creating new opportunities, and achieving success in education and employment.

6.1.2 Lack of social relations and leisure activities

The move to the Capital Region was also facilitated, according to some interviewees, by the lack of social relations and leisure activities in small towns. They believed that it is easier to get to know and communicate with people in bigger cities and spend leisure time with them. For example, in his first place of residence, Mimo suffered from the absence of social ties, both with the local population and his co-nationals. As one of the largest cities in the country, Espoo attracted him with the opportunity to make new friends.

> In [a town in Southeast of Finland], I barely had any people around. Here in Finland, you can live for twenty years without talking to any local people. But I have to speak with people, go somewhere with my friends, or stay overnight with them (Mimo, 22.6.2019).

Maji had the same feelings regarding making acquaintances with Finns. The lack of communication with people made him feel lonely and contributed to his move to Espoo, where his brother lived:

> I decided to change a place and come to Espoo and be closer to my brother's family because, you know, sometimes I am alone, and I feel bad. The problem here in Finland is that Finnish people are shy (Maji, 24.10.2019).

Similarly to Maji, Sahiba moved to Espoo to escape from the feeling of loneliness. She followed the example of her friends, co-nationals, who had moved to the Capital Region earlier. She also believed that the decision to move is correct in terms of her children's future life:

> I felt quite alone there. And I need the community for myself and, more importantly, for my children to keep the language, mother tongue. So, I decided to move (Sahiba, 15.8.2019).

Some interviewees felt that the lack of social networks and leisure activities aggravated their psychological health, which was already undermined by worries about relatives staying in their homeland and the long and exhausting process of waiting for a residence permit decision. In the following interview fragment, 24-years-old Jabri described how the pursuit of a variety of activities and the communication she was accustomed to were the reason for her move to Espoo:

> I remember that everything was bad [in a city on the west coast of Finland]. I was sick. I came to Finland two years ago, and I was waiting for a decision [asylum decision] for a long time. I missed my mum, my dad, and my sister so much. Then I was in the hospital. I lived in the hospital for one month. I was nervous there. Then I came to Espoo. I thought that there would be a lot of people and I would go to school. I need many people. In [a city on the west coast of Finland], everything is closed at six or seven. When I lived in Iraq, and after that, in Turkey, I met a lot of people. Some places were always open (Jabri, 7.8.2019).

Viktor and Galina moved to Espoo to be closer to the religious community to which they belong. During their asylum-seeking process, they were transferred from one reception center to another and ended up in a place without such a community. In the following interview excerpt, Viktor described how his family tried to negotiate with the Finnish Immigration Service officials about their transfer:

> We asked about it at the camp in Helsinki many times. We wrote that we are religious refugees, and it [religion] is important for us. We said that the camps are everywhere and asked to send us where there are Russians. We brought them a list of fourteen or fifteen places [places, where are Russian religious communities]. At first, they [reception center's employees] promised to take it into account. But then they just said that they send us to [a town in Southern Finland], where there is nothing (Viktor, 9.8.2019).

The inability to be closer to their congregation prevented this family from pursuing acts of citizenship. After obtaining the residence permit, Viktor and Galina deeply concentrated on arranging conditions that will allow them to participate in religious events. The couple acted as activist citizens who did not accept the situation that was created by the decision of the Finnish Immigration Service authorities and started searching for another place of residence.

Another factor that affected Viktor's and Galina's decision to move to Espoo was their concerns about their son's mental state when they were living in a small town. They believed that moving to the Capital Region, a new school, and new acquaintances would positively affect their son. Unlike the metropolitan settings that attract people with an abundance of educational institutions, job prospects, and various recreational activities, a provincial town does not appear to be a site of citizenship. Moreover, according to the experience of Victor and Galina, small town features impose restrictions on the youngster's amusement, and hinder the development of his skills and abilities:

> A person cannot live a normal life. Yes, he goes to school. But, you see, he returns home from school. He needs something more than just school and home. He wants to go for a walk somewhere. I started to observe some symptoms of the coming depression. His personality is getting suppressed. That's true! He has no one to go for a walk with... Well, even when he does have someone to go skating after school, you still need to drive there, and we don't always have money for fuel to drive there. Buses are also expensive, and their schedule is planned that way that he cannot return if he goes in the evening (Viktor, 9.8.2019).

A common observation among the interviewees was that the absence of social relations, facilities, and leisure activities contributed to their psychological problems, such as feelings of loneliness and depression. This mental state did not allow them to focus on obligations that accompany the integration process, including learning a language. In particular, it prevented interviewees from pursuing acts of citizenship that, according to Isin & Nielsen (2008), are aimed at changing established practices, status, and order. In addition to the negative impact on receiving formal integration services, the lack of accessible public facilities and leisure activities weakens one's feeling of belonging and inclusion at the initial stages of life in a new country.

6.1.3 Racism and prejudices against refugees

Several interviewees claimed that at the beginning of their life in Finland, they faced racism, which manifested itself in the form of sending threats or releasing negative comments. They argued that they moved to Espoo, hoping to encounter less racism in the Capital Region.

Jamal described that he and his family moved to Espoo primarily because of his children who had negative experience dealing with local peers:

> It happened when my kids were little. They liked playing outdoors, going out with friends, and so on. It was tough for them there because people were bullying them. And it was racist. We thought that here [in Espoo], it could be a better environment for them (Jamal, 22.7.2019).

Jamal specified how racism was expressed:

> There was bullying all the time. Sometimes other kids were saying bad words to them. Once my child Ali… when he was fifteen… There was a group of ten children who were older than Ali. Some of them were eighteen years old. Some were seventeen years old… They fought with Ali. They always waited for him in front of our house. It bothered Ali very much. He was mentally tired of it. Then, our younger girl has been bullied many times because of a headscarf (Jamal, 22.7.2019).

The eldest son of Jamal, Said, who I interviewed separately, also mentioned the cases of racism that happened to him at the first place of residence:

> I informed my social worker that I will move away as soon as the Finnish language course ends because there were a bit nasty situations in [a town of Southern Savo region]. Threat messages and racism. People disturbed us by calling the police or threatening us directly. They could find us on social media. When one types there a name, one gets all the information. It happened many times (Said, 20.7.2019).

Muka noted that he had encountered different attitudes towards refugees living in a small town. These attitudes were mostly based on a variety of prejudices that local people, especially seniors, had towards nationals of other countries:

> I was always asking them [young locals] how they feel about immigrants who come to Finland. Some of them were saying that they need more immigrants. They were saying that this town is beautiful, but there are no people now. These houses are empty. But when I asked older people whether they want to bring more refugees here, they said: "No, we don't want, because it is unsafe." So, the new generation wants to see people. But older people, they don't want to (Muka, 11.7.2019).

Like other study participants, Muka was less likely to meet racist comments towards him after moving to the capital region. In his opinion, the size of the city of residence defines the attitude of locals towards him:

> I've met a few people with a negative attitude here, but not too many. Because here, people are moving. People are not always sitting in one place. For example, I take a bus to the city center. Then I go to another place and so on until I get tired. Then I go home. When I travel, maybe I meet one negative person. But that person will not see me the next day. You know, if you see a negative person, the next day you see the good person because you are always on the move. But in [a town in Southern Finland], there is only one corner. It is a small city. If you see somebody with a negative attitude, this person will set all his friends against you. When you

> move around, you meet more negative people because it is a small city (Muka, 11.7.2019).

25-years-old Hamid had a similar experience with racism in the Capital Region. He suggested that racism does not frequently occur in the Helsinki region since Finnish people living there are accustomed to immigrants and often contact them in everyday life, such as at work or school. Racism, according to him, depends on the percentage of the immigrant population in the city:

> I experienced racism in [a city on the west coast of Finland]. Some strangers could tell me some ugly words on the street. I don't like it. There is less racism in the capital region. Individual cases only. A lot of immigrants live here. People meet a lot of immigrants… (Hamid, 17.7.2019).

Interviewees' discussions presented above demonstrated that living in an environment where locals are suspicious of the immigrants is uncomfortable. Isin (2008) describes this type of relationship between citizens and non-citizens as "alienating". According to my research results, alienating relationships occur due to prejudices and involve acts of racism, such as bullying and verbal violence. They prevent refugees from establishing contacts with Finns, spending leisure time with them, and developing Finnish language skills. In other words, alienating relationships prevent refugees' acts of citizenship. These results are consistent with those of Sotkasiira and Haverinen (2016). The authors pointed out that racism that Somalis experience in Lieksa, Finland, for example, in bars, on the streets, at work, or while participating in politics, can prevent refugees from constituting themselves and acting like citizens.

6.2 Difficulties in obtaining the available social services

After getting a residence permit and registration as residents of Finland, refugees become entitled to the Finnish social security system, health care, and education. During their

initial stage of living in Finland, they actively interact with Finnish governmental and municipal authorities and become familiar with the Finnish social security system and social legislation structure. For example, refugees apply for different services and fill out various applications, a significant part of which are applications for social allowances. They frequently face difficulties in obtaining the available social services, for example, the bureaucracy, which requires a lot of time and effort to understand.

Many research participants experienced insufficient counseling and guidance on governmental and municipal services, which contributed to further financial problems slowing down the process of getting assistance. Most of those who were dealing with applications for Kela's benefits noted that they do not always receive enough explanation from officials who help them to fill the forms on how and why the procedure of application is performed. Interviewees emphasized that they could not be sure about the correctness of the applications that official helped them fill due to a lack of knowledge of the Finnish language or a lack of understanding of the social service system. They assumed the officials would do it correctly, but it was not always the case. Some interviewees dealt with situations when instead of the expected financial assistance, they got additional financial problems. For example, Mimo recalled how the mistake of the social worker who was supposed to help him with the application for a social allowance caused further problems**:**

> When I moved from the camp to my first apartment, I had to submit some papers to Kela for the first time in Finland. And my social worker in the camp helped me to fill a form. But I don't know what exactly she wrote. And after three or four months, I got a Finnish language course. Kela told me that they could not give me money. I asked "why?", because all my friends take money from Kela if they have some courses. They told me that *lastenhoidontuki* [child home care allowance] is set on my name. And *työmarkkinatuki* [basic unemployment benefit] is also set on my name. The official said: "I cannot give you both". But I told them: "My wife is at home, my wife is with my baby, why don't you give [child home care

> allowance] to my wife". She told me "because you wrote your name, not your wife's name". But I didn't know anything about that! (Mimo, 22.6.2019).

Viktor and Galina described the situation when they were left without any finances because Kela's officer didn't inform them about the necessary attachments while helping them with the application form for the basic social assistance. Resolving the situation took a significant amount of time, so they were forced to contact their social worker at the Immigrant Services to ask for food money. Galina emphasized that the lack of detailed guidance on application procedure made them submit several appeals to different officials on the same issue and prevented them from acting independently and quickly:

> The social office gave us papers [payment obligations] for thirty euros. Well, it could have been avoided if an employee of Kela took her work competently. She saw that people do not understand! There is no instruction for people who do not know anything yet. But the instruction is needed to avoid such situations. And we will not bother anyone. We will deal with the problems by ourselves. With the instruction, the person will get used to the system faster (Galina, 9.8.2019).

Viktor emphasized that receiving guidance from governmental and municipal authorities is essential after getting a residence permit when one needs to reacquaint himself or herself with many aspects of everyday life in Finland as they are partially different for an asylum seeker and a residence permit holder:

> When we received a residence permit, we did not know where to go, what steps to take during the first week. And nobody told us anything about this. Although this is the work of a social worker, who must tell: "You should go here and there, here and there". But we had no idea how to go to the hospital or any other place (Viktor, 8.8.2019).

The challenges caused by the lack of counseling and guidance that my research participants confronted in the initial stages of life in Finland prevented them from pursuing acts of citizenship, that is, focusing on the processes related to their active participation in Finnish society. These challenges also contributed to an even greater division between citizens and non-citizens. Instead of devoting their time to the acquaintance with Finnish society and culture and learning a language, they are forced to solve the problems they face due to receiving incorrect or insufficient information from state or municipal officials. Notably, the solution to financial problems took a lot of time and effort. For this reason, according to the data presented in the previous chapter, many interviewees used Finnish friends and other social relations as an alternative source of information and help.

Many research participants also could not acquire the necessary information since they were unable to reach the integration work professionals in the Immigrant Services. The frequent interaction with the Immigrant Services at the initial stages of life as a resident of the country is common among refugees. After a refugee registers as a client of this organization, further interaction can be initiated as by the social work professional, who can call a client to an appointment, so by a client himself arranging an appointment if necessary. As shown in the interview excerpts of different study participants below, some of the interviewees faced the situation when they could not reach a social worker and, thus, solve their problem:

> I find their [the Immigrant Services of a city located in the eastern part of Uusimaa] number on the internet and called them. I wanted to tell them who I am and explain that I need help because Kela didn't pay the money to my landlord. But they didn't answer me. Then I sent them a message, but they didn't respond (Karim, 13.6.2019).

> I went to the social office four or five times, just because I needed to speak with someone. I didn't get a chance to speak with anyone. Maybe because there are too

> many immigrants and refugees in [a city of Western Uusimaa] and they don't have time for everyone (Mimo, 22.6.2019).

> I lived there [in a city of Eastern Uusimaa] for three months, and I didn't meet my social worker. She sent me a message once with an appointment time. When I was on the way to the social office, someone called me and said that my social worker is not at the office and canceled the appointment. I went home. There was no contact later from them (Azra, 4.7.2020).

Some interviewees complained that they could not receive service in their native language in the Immigrant Services. Jamal described that the absence of an interpreter caused a significant delay in the solution of his problem:

> Every time I had some important issues, I went to the social office's reception. If there was no interpreter, I had to book an appointment. It could last a month or even more until you get a meeting with a social worker. It is a long process to get a service with an interpreter (Jamal, 22.7.2019)

Muka mentioned that he had difficulties with the family unification process for the same reason. In his opinion, even his considerably good command of English does not necessarily make the social services more accessible for him and admitted that solving serious issues requires the interpreter:

> When dealing with a social worker, refugees need an interpreter for their mother tongue. When I speak English, it might be that I can't explain every detail about my problem. It means that this service is not available for me, or I must wait for a longer time (Muka, 11.7.2019).

The evidence presented above shows that issues occurring during the interaction with the Immigrant Services cause a delay in receiving information and services supporting

refugees' integration. On the one hand, this state of affairs encourages refugees to make acquaintances with Finnish people and actively learn the Finnish language. On the other hand, refugees are not always able to find the relevant information independently or even with the help of their Finnish friends since it is out of their competence, and there is a need of the professional help from the Immigrant Services. Consequently, the Immigrant Services' inaccessibility deprives refugees of the information that they need to become citizens.

In this sub-chapter, I analyzed the factors that prevent refugees' acts of citizenship. The first of these factors, I defined as a lack of integration conditions outside the Finnish Capital Region. It implies limited employment and educational opportunities, lack of social relations and leisure activities, racism and prejudices against refugees. The findings have shown that interviewees did not agree to live and develop in small towns but moved to the Capital Region that has better conditions for their integration. The second factor that I described as "Difficulties in obtaining the available social services". According to interviewees' statements, it slowed down the process of obtaining information necessary at the initial stages of life in the country and forced them to look for alternative ways of solving their problems.

7. Conclusions

This study is about refugees' perspectives on their acts of citizenship during the integration period in Finland. It investigates what acts of citizenship refugees perform to constitute themselves as citizens and what factors prevent them from pursuing acts of citizenship. Since refugees with experience of relocating within the country were selected as study participants, this study also examines the influence of moving to the Capital region on constituting refugees as citizens. The following questions were posed:

- What acts performed by refugees during their integration process enable them to constitute themselves as citizens?

- What prevents refugees from constituting themselves as citizens during their integration?
- How moving to the Capital Region influence the process of constituting refugees as citizens?

The study was conducted using the qualitative methodology and interview method. The analysis of interview materials revealed that refugees are focused on performing three acts during their integration process that enable them to constitute themselves as citizens. All of them are performed intentionally and have a purpose. The first act of citizenship is the Finnish language learning for the implementation of which refugees use any given opportunity, including independent study. The main goal of Finnish language learning is further employment and opportunities to solve everyday issues independently. The second act of citizenship is a job search. It was found that refugees are involved in job search to become financially independent, provide financial support for their relatives, and gain job experience necessary for future employment. The third act of citizenship of refugees is the political activity and establishment of social relations. Performing it, they get acquainted with the Finnish society, improve Finnish language skills as well as familiarize the local population with their problems and reduce the number of prejudices against the immigrant population aiming to make changes in the society.

With regard to the second research question, the analysis showed that refugees consider two factors that prevent them from constituting themselves as citizens during their integration. According to them, the first factor is the lack of integration conditions outside the Finnish Capital Region. Describing living experience there, the study participants noted encountering limited employment and educational opportunities, lack of social relations and leisure activities, racism and prejudices against the immigrant population. They tried to escape from the problem of insufficient integration conditions by moving to the Capital Region, which is characterized by a large selection of various services, job, education, and entertainment opportunities. The second factor involves difficulties in obtaining available social services. The counseling and guidance on governmental and

municipal services were described as insufficient, and the Immigrant Services were not always accessible. This factor minimizes the available information that is necessary at the initial stages of life in the country and, consequently, slows down the integration process.

Concerning the third question, it can be concluded that moving to the Capital Region influences refugees' lives dramatically in terms of integration into Finnish society and constituting themselves as citizens. It creates new opportunities in employment and education, allows reuniting with friends and relatives who live there, making new acquaintances, using services, and participating in organizations absent in other regions of the country. By their decision to move, refugees show that they are not passive and just accept the situation as it is, but they put the effort to improve their situation, take the initiative and thus change the common perception of a refugee.

Using Isin's (2008) theory on acts of citizenship in researching refugees' doings aimed at improving their living conditions, I contribute to citizenship studies. At the time of the increasing importance of migration processes in the world and, in particular, the increase of refugees' numbers in Finland, it is necessary to develop a theoretical framework that can be used to understand factors that enable and hinder migrant's participation in the society. The use of Isin's (2008) theoretical framework helps to move away from seeing refugees as non-citizens and blur the line between notions of citizen and non-citizen. My research results also advance understanding of non-citizens' acts of citizenship and contribute to the previous research on non-citizens' acts of citizenship.

While the previous research mainly focused on undocumented migrants' and asylum seekers' manifestations of struggling for the basic rights, belonging, and recognition (Barbero, 2012; Depraetere & Oosterlynck, 2017; Kandylis, 2017; Kanci, 2018; Müller, 2016; Nordling, Sager & Söderman, 2017; Näre, 2020; Oliveri, 2012), my study focused on individuals who have already received a residence permit, became a resident of the country and benefit from measures supporting their integration. But, similarly to these studies, my study revealed that non-citizen acts of citizenship are aimed at making their

voices heard. In contrast to previous research, this study identifies factors that prevent pursuing acts of citizenship. The only study that partly covered these factors was the one by Sotkasiira and Haverinen (2016) that touches upon the topic of racism.

The practical significance of this study is that it points to the differences in integration conditions in different regions of Finland. Refugees who participated in this study talk about different problems that prompt them to move to the Capital Region. There are very specific problems among these ones, such as limited opportunities to study the Finnish language in Swedish-speaking communes, even though the fluency in it is essential for life in the country. Such a situation calls for a change in the allocation of the services that enable refugees' integration and acts of citizenship: these opportunities should be well-spread throughout the country and not concentrated in the big cities only. The refugees cannot be expected to integrate successfully as long as they live in a place with no social interactions, jobs, and educational facilities. The current state of affairs also allows for the conclusion that the flow of immigrant population towards the Capital Region will remain as a trend for a longer time.

This research also brings to the conclusion that although there are organizations providing guidance on access to the Finnish social security system, the understanding of Finnish bureaucracy among the refugee population remains a big challenge. While discussing their integration experience, participants expressed the desire to start managing independently in everyday life as soon as possible and reduce their dependence on the help of municipal and state institutions. It indicates the need to develop a system of services for working with refugees.

In conclusion, it seems necessary to specify the limitations of this research. Firstly, it is not entirely possible to generalize the analysis results, as there are only twelve participants. Such a small number of interviewees cannot represent a wider social group. Therefore, this research results should not be regarded as a general fact but rather as an existing tendency. Secondly, the previous studies on the acts of citizenship in the Finnish

context are very few; so, there is no solid data gathered locally that could be added to the core of this research.

Further research may be conducted by asking refugees what should be improved in the integration service, so it meets their needs. Such research has the potential to provide a deeper understanding of integration problems and identify the lack of resources in enabling refugees' acts of citizenship for policymakers. The question of what allows the refugees to perform as citizens can also be studied by interviewing them in other regions of the country, in smaller towns and rural areas. The results of such research can promote the development of this topic and support the results of my analysis. It can be a study of a comparative nature; that is, residents of the Capital region and rural areas can both participate in it. Therefore, it requires a significantly wider selection of participants than the present research has.

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Appendix 1

List of questions

1. Background information

How old are you currently?

What is your nationality?

Are you living alone?

Do you have any children?

Are you in the process of family reunification?

2. Information about the first place of residence

Where have you lived after obtaining a residence permit?

How did you choose that place of residence?

Did you have friends and relatives there? How did you meet new people?

What did you do in that place? (Did you study? Did you work? Where? What? For how long?)

How did you spend your leisure time there?

How long have you lived there? To where you moved after that?

3. The decision to move to Espoo

When have you moved to Espoo?

How long have you been already living in Espoo?

What factors influenced your decision to move?

What did you know about Espoo while you lived in another city?

What are the causes of leaving your initial place of residence?

What officials did you inform in your initial place of residence about your move to Espoo? How they reacted?

With what issues have you encountered during the move?

4. Living experience and arrangement of necessary services in Espoo

How did you find an apartment in Espoo?

How the move to Espoo influenced your access to social services?

How did you arrange the necessary services for yourself/for your children in Espoo? What services do you need?

What issues have you encountered after the move to Espoo?

How your move affected your educational opportunities? Did you meet your expectations?

Are you studying at the moment? What? For how long?

How long have you waited for Finnish courses?

How your move affected your employment perspectives? Have you searched job in Espoo? How?

Do you have friends or relatives in Espoo? How do you spend time with them?

How do you make acquaintances in Espoo?

What kind of hobbies do you have? Do you belong to any association or organization?

What are your plans?

Is there anything you would like to add?

Appendix 2

Information sheet

My name is Emma Barbashina. I am a graduate student at the University of Helsinki. I would like to invite you to participate as an interviewee in my research, the purpose of which is to investigate the refugees' motives of the move to Espoo from other Finnish municipalities and the influence of internal migration on refugees' integration process.
My study aims to provide a better understanding of the process of internal migration of refugees and its possible problems for policymakers. The point of the interview is to learn about the topic firsthand.

The interview will cover the following themes:

- background information (briefly about age, country of origin, living arrangements);
- information about the first place of residence and experience of living there;
- decision to move (causes/motives);
- arrangement of necessary services in Espoo and the Helsinki metropolitan area (social-, health-, employment-, studying-, housing- etc.).

The interview will last approximately one hour. We can stop the interview at any time if you do not want to continue.

Note that participation in this research will not affect the services you receive in the city of Espoo.

Best regards,
Emma Barbashina

Appendix 3

Consent to take part in a research

Please tick the appropriate boxes	*Yes*	*No*
• I have read and understood the information sheet	□	□
• I have been allowed to ask questions about the research	□	□
• I voluntarily agree to participate in this research	□	□
• I agree to my interview being audio-recorded	□	□
• I understand that all information I provide will be treated confidentially	□	□
• I understand that my identity will remain anonymous	□	□
• I understand that my words may be anonymously quoted in the research report	□	□
• I understand that audio recordings and consent form will be retained securely, such that no-one else but the researcher can access them, and will be destroyed after the research is completed	□	□
• I understand that participation in the research will not affect the services I receive in the city of Espoo	□	□

Signature Date

Name

Appendix 4

Research permit

ESPOO ESBO TUTKIMUSLUPA 1 (1)

TUTKIMUSLUVAN MYÖNTÄMINEN

Espoon kaupungin sosiaali- ja terveystoimen esikunta / Kehittämisen tulosalue Ketterä myöntää 26.4.2019 saapuneen tutkimuslupahakemuksen ja alla olevien ehtojen mukaisesti.

Hakija/yhteyshenkilö: Emma Barbashina

Tutkimuksen aihe/nimi: Subsequent locational choices of recent refugees: motives and influence on integration. Case Study in Espoo, Finland

Lakimiehen puolto ehdolla: Tutkimusluvan hakijalle ei luovuteta tietoa asiakkaista ja heidän yhteistietojaan ilman asiakkailta saatua kirjallista suostumusta

Edellytyksenä on, että tutkimuksen suorittaja tai suorittajat eivät käytä saamiaan tietoja asiakkaan tai potilaan tai hänen läheistensä vahingoksi eivätkä luovuta saamiaan henkilötietoja ulkopuolisille, vaan pitävät ne salassa.

Tutkimustulokset tulee esittää niin, ettei niistä voida tunnistaa yksittäistä henkilöä tai perhettä. Lisäksi on noudatettava tietosuoja-asetus ja tietosuojalaissa sekä muualla lainsäädännössä olevia tutkimusrekistereitä koskevia säännöksiä.

Tutkimusluvan myöntäminen ei velvoita tutkimuksen kohteita osallistumaan tutkimukseen. Tutkijan on neuvoteltava aina erikseen tutkimuskohteena olevien organisaatioiden kanssa tutkimukseen osallistumisesta. Tutkimuksen teko ei saa häiritä tutkimuskohteen toimintaa.

Edellytämme, että tutkija/yhteyshenkilö lähettää sosiaali- ja terveystoimen kehittämisyksikön sähköpostiosoitteeseen **sotet_tutkimusluvat@espoo.fi** lopullisen tutkimusraportin.

Espoossa 22.5.2019

Tuula Heinänen
kehittämisjohtaja
Sosiaali- ja terveystoimi
Espoon kaupunki